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ABSTRACT

A study investigated how balanced and pseudo-bilingual students, all second-generation Chinese-Americans, develop and maintain their native language while learning English. Subjects were 12 fifth-graders attending a Saturday Chinese language school, six of whom (3 boys, 3 girls) were balanced bilinguals and six of whom (3 boys, 3 girls) were non-balanced ("pseudo-") bilinguals. The children and their parents were surveyed, and a week later participated in follow-up interviews. Analysis of the results suggests the parents of the two groups of children have very strong differences in their reasons for wanting to educate their children in two languages. Parents of balanced bilinguals tended to provide many more varieties of language input, and at some point to immerse their children in Chinese-speaking countries. There was less difference found in the children's attitudes, but balanced bilingual children tended to believe in putting more effort into learning two languages, and felt pleasure in being bilingual. Implications for development of bilingualism in children are discussed briefly. Contains 66 references. (MSE)

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ED 432 129

How do balanced bilinguals develop and maintain their native language while learning English ?

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June 1, 1998

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Abstract

Whether language minority students should learn English at the expense of their native languages has been a debated issue among educators and parents in many ethnic-minority groups. Data from the U.S. Dept. of Education in 1993 indicates one-fifth of school-age children are from language minority households, 52% of the Limited English Proficient (LEP) students in US elementary schools were born in the US and two out of three LEP students are in grade k-6. This research compares how balanced and pseudo-bilingual students, among second-generation Chinese-Americans, develop and maintain their native language while learning English in certain areas of parent and student practices. The researcher selected six 5th graders (3 boys and 3 girls) who are balanced bilinguals and another six 5th graders (3 boys and 3 girls) who are non-balanced bilinguals from a Chinese language school. The survey interviews and follow-up interviews were individually conducted about one week apart with parents and students. The data collected from a Likert-scale survey were computed by percentages and Mann-Whitney U-tests to find out the differences between the two groups. The results suggest parents have very strong differences in their reasons for wanting to educate their children in two languages. Parents of balanced bilinguals tend to provide many more varieties of language input and also at some point in time immerse their children in Chinese speaking countries. Balanced bilingual children tend to believe in putting more effort into learning two languages and also the fun of being bilingual. The findings of this research will assist educators and immigrant families to increase their understanding and practices in raising their children to be balanced bilingual

A comparison of how balanced bilingual and pseudo-bilingual students, who are second-generation Chinese-Americans, develop and maintain the native language while learning English.

Introduction

With the sustaining arguments over whether, in the U.S., we should have an English-only policy or embrace bilingual education for the purpose of maintenance rather than transition, many bilingual advocates have challenged the policy-makers to teach students in the languages that they understand, building a second language on the first language, and allowing students to communicate in their native languages for the sake of family communications and unity. Thus, the problem of cross-cultural language development, whether language-minority students (LMS) should learn English at the expense of the native language, or keep the native languages at the risk of not being able to acquire proficiency in both languages, has become a debated issue among educators and parents in many ethnic-minority groups. However, the specific characteristics needed for language minority groups to become truly balanced bilingual individuals have not yet been well researched or documented. The purpose of this study is to examine relevant factors that afford LMS the opportunities to be bilingual by comparing how balanced and pseudo-bilingual students, among second-generation American-born Chinese-Americans who are from the immigrant families, develop and maintain their native language while learning English in terms of associations between the home language learning environment and underlying attributes of the individual students.

Definition of Terms

Language Minority students—students who speak languages other than English as their first language, e.g., students' home language is not English.

Balanced bilinguals— Peal and Lambert (1962) defined balanced bilinguals as proficient in both primary and second language at a young age. In other words, a person, to be considered as a balanced bilingual, must have well-developed competence in two languages. A child who can understand the delivery of the curriculum in school in either language and operate in classroom activity in either language.

Pseudo-bilinguals— Peal and Lambert (1962) defined pseudo-bilinguals as those who have not attained age-appropriate abilities in one of these two languages—one language is more developed than the other

Research Problem and Research Objectives

The American public school system is as diverse as it has ever been. Students today are increasingly different from one another linguistically, culturally, and economically. For example, The Seattle School District alone has to deal with students who are from 87 different native language backgrounds. Educators, therefore, have long been confronted with the notion that the home language is interfering in the development of students' English proficiency, especially at the elementary level. Data from the U.S. Dept. of Education in 1993 indicates one-fifth of school-age children were from language minority households, two out of three limited English proficienct (LEP) students were in grades k-6 and 52% of the LEP students in US elementary schools were born in the US. There are high number of LMS, born in the U.S., are diagnosed as LEP. One of the local public elementary schools where I have interned has 46% language minority students, with approximately 50% LEP students born in the United States speaking Chinese dialects at home. I was, at the same time, surprised about the high numbers of LMS at the same school succesfully maintaining their primary language proficiency while learning English.

Hence, how language minority students resolve the competing interests between developing

mainstream English and their mother tongue has been a long, hidden battle among many of our children and educational practitioners. The decision for immigrant families relies ultimately on parental and individual struggles. What can immigrant families do to keep their basic communication tool without the expense of falling behind in English skills or, on the other hand, to learn English without losing their native languages? To those language minority students, becoming bilingual is much more than owning two languages, it may affect the rest of their lives and the lives of their parents in the areas of ethnic/cultural identity, social-cultural involvement, and employment options.

Parents in many ethnic-minority groups, therefore, have to make the conscious choice to either educate their offspring in a monolingual, English-only environment with some possible regret later, or maintain their native languages at home to a maximal extent. No matter which path they choose, they would always want to find out how some factors are associated with balanced bilingual students who are from immigrant families, in successfully developing and maintaining the native languag literacy at home while learning English within the school and social contexts. My interest in research, then, focuses on whether there are any differences in parental and students' roles in attaining the two languages simultaneously, especially among second-generation Chinese American students who are born and raised in the U.S.

Literature Review

Peal and Lambert (1962) were the first to introduce the concept of balanced bilingualism and pseudo-bilingualism by researching the Canadian immersion model. Cummins(1978) and many other researchers have also suggested the likelihood of cognitive advantages as the result of balanced bilingualism. In other words, students who are defined as being "balanced bilinguals" are those who have experienced " additive bilingualism" rather than "subtractive bilingualism" where the targeted language is acquired at the cost of the native language.

The Threshold theory developed by Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas (1977) and by Cummins(1976)

explains that the effect of bilingualism becomes positive after the person has reached a threshold of proficiency in both languages, otherwise the person would have age-appropriate competence in one but not two languages or low levels of competence in both languages with likely negative effects. However, Threshold theory does not clearly indicate the process of transition between one stage to the other. Cummins(1978), along the same line, further supported bilingualism with the Interdependence hypothesis. He challenged the traditional view of Separate Underlying Proficiency model (SUP) where there is no common ground for both the first language and the second language. In order to acquire the second language, the first language must diminish to make room for the acquired knowledge (i.e., subtractive bilingalism). Instead, he suggested his Common Underlying Proficiency model (CUP) where he argued that many cognitive/academic or literacy-related skills can be transferred from the first language to the second language, implying the two languages share a common underlying proficiency. He believes the development of a strong proficiency in the first language will benefit in the acquisition of the second language proficiency.

What if the students, like the second-generation Chinese Americans who have not yet built up a solid grounding in their mother tongue, are confronted with the need to acquire second language proficiency at the same rate as monolingual students? Wong Fillmore (1992), after having done research on this issue at the primary grade level in the US, reported that the younger we foster second language learning before mastering the first language, the greater the chance these language minority students will lose their native languages. Wong Fillmore concluded that the consequence of English taking over the mother tongue among language minority students has not only affected children's educational development, it also affects their social and emotional adjustment as well as the integrity of the families and society they live in.

In comparing the differences of bilingual surroundings between Canada and the United States, however, there are some major variants in conditions as to how additive bilinguals could have

adapted. First, the socialinguistic environment in the United States is negative and in many ways represses (i.e., the English-only policy), whereas the Canadian environment in some ways treats bilingualism with positive expectations and as a social and economic benefit. Since the students' native language was the dominant language spoken in their society, reinforced at home and in the community within school outside of the French classroom, the issue of redefining the ethnic/cultural identity that Wong has mentioned became irrelevant. As Cohen (1976) has pointed out, students in Canadian immersion programs are the ones "segregated" linguistically, thus they are likely to have a different sense of confidence, self-esteem and motivation than the minority students who are learning the dominant language while trying to maintain their native language with little support from their environment. Second, since parents were from middle or upper class backgrounds who volunteered to be in the Canadian immersion program, the program naturally received very strong parental support and participation. Moreover, the Canadian immersion program depicted the need to provide support and an accepting learning environment in order to address second language acquisition as positive bilingualism.

From the psycholinguistic perspective, Krashen (1981) introduced five hypotheses of second language acquisition: the acquisition-learning hypotheseis, the natural order hypothesis, the input hypothesis, the monitor hypothesis, and the affective filter hypothesis. Among these hypotheses, Krashen (1981b) pointed out that "comprehensible and meaningful input is the only causative variable in second language acquisition. All other factors only work when they are related to comprehensible input." Krashen (1982) defined comprehensible input as a necessary (but not sufficient) condition to move from stage I to stage I + 1. The acquirer understands input that contains I + 1, where 'understand' means that the acquirer is focussed on the meaning and not the form of the message (p. 21). In other words, comprehensible input of the target language is just one level beyond the students' acquisition level, otherwise the input is only noise to the acquirer.

To learn how likely the second language learners elicit good input and what type of input was generated, Cathcart (1986) studied children's second language production in a Canadian immersion program and concluded that second language learners need sufficient time and social-linguistic advantages to reinforce proper language development, i e , an opportunity to control the conversation with fluent native language speaking peers in the target language

The input theory also faces some challenges. White (1987) argued against "comprehensible input" since we can't be sure what input is relevant to what stage, and the input hypothesis actually overemphasizes the role and benefits of simplified input. In other words, he believes that certain language learning is internally driven and independent from the context or meaning. In addition to second language acquisition theory and research that only concentrate on situation, input and process tend to de-emphasize the role of individual differences, language acquisition could be a consequence of child-constructed experience, and the adult's role is to follow the child's interests and provide many opportunities for a child to interact with objects, events and other children

Krashen (1996) has more recently added "the continued literacy development of the primary language" into the element of a successful bilingual-education. He suggests that free voluntary, reading can facilitate many aspects of bilingual education, such as comprehensible input in English and the primary language and subject content learning

There is good reason... to support reading in both the first language and the second language. Reading in the primary language can provide much of the common underlying proficiency (Cummins, 1981) that helps ensure English reading will promote English language development directly. There is also evidence that a reading habit in the first language transfers to the second language ...[F] ree reading in the first language may mean more reading, and hence more literacy development in the second language (Krashen, 1996, p. 66).

Socialinguists have also asserted that the child's motivation to communicate with others and the importance of children-directed speech are key factors in a child's language development. The individual student's motivation, aptitude, and even commitment to be educated in the two languages

could dictate the effect of bilingualism. The idea that motivation and attitude play a part in the successful acquisition of a second or foreign language is a subject of general agreement among second language acquisition theorists. Gardner (1985) theorized the existence of two different types of motivation which grew out of the different orientations, or classes of reasons, discovered in his early studies. Integrative motivation is based on a willingness to be part of a target language group, and includes a desire to understand the language and culture of another group for purposes of interaction. Operationally, it is defined by variables including measures of integrativeness, attitudes toward the learning situation and motivation. Instrumental motivation, on the other hand, refers to practical, utilitarian reasons for learning a second language, although the motivation must still be language-related, e.g., professional options.

Most of the studies done by Gardner and his colleagues have focused on integrative motivation as the prime determinant of achievement in a second language, as the social psychological approach is concerned with the individual in the group context. Gardner (1991) has stated that integrative motivation is more important than instrumental motivation, because it "reflects an active involvement in language study" (p. 59). In his view, integratively motivated students are more active in class, are more likely to participate in activities outside of class, and are less likely to drop out of language study.

Two fairly recent studies by Gardner and MacIntyre show somewhat mixed results in determining the primacy of integrative motivation over instrumental motivation. A 1991 study found instrumental motivation to at least temporarily affect subjects' achievement in learning English/French vocabulary pairs. The study found that both integratively and instrumentally motivated subjects learned better than unmotivated subjects, although those who were instrumentally motivated by a monetary reward ceased their efforts once the reward was withdrawn. Another study, done in 1992, focused on integrative motivation and language anxiety as factors in the subjects' ability to learn English/French vocabulary pairs. This study found a positive relationship between integrative motivation and achievement, while a negative relationship was shown for anxiety.

Dornyei (1994), provides another educational and social perspective on second language learning motivation. He argues that second language learning is unique because of the multi-faceted nature and role of language. Language is considered a communications coding system that can be taught in school at the same time that it is an integral part of an individual's identity involved in almost all mental activities. It also is the most important social organization channel in the culture of the community where it's used. For this reason, Dornyei says, "an adequate L2 motivaton construct is bound to be eclectic, bringing together factors from different psychological fields" (p 274).

However, Gardner's social psychological approach and most of its proposed research alternatives have focused primarily on foreign language study or on bilingual study in Canada. Different viewpoints come to light when research involving immigrant L2 learner populations is considered. Taylor (1980) analyzed bilingualism related to the personal characteristics of immigrant groups into three developmental stages from a social psychological perspective. The immigrant group, at the first stage, prefers maintaining the ethnic language over speaking English; then moving into the competitive period, the native language is neglected and English is valued for essential upward social mobility; finally, the two languages become additive and the mobility of the ethnic group is realized as a whole. Children born to the immigrant family in the United States most likely have family members that fit in the second and third of these developmental stages. Hakuta (1986) presented the story of Richard Rodriguez, son of Mexican immigrants, as a social-linguistic case study of an immigrant family who struggled with the competing values, identities and especially the effect of languages. To Richard, growing up bilingually often meant living two lives and learning the rules of two cultures. Richard's case reveals there are conflicting desires in children born in immigrant families in the United States to both maintain allegiance to their ethnic identities in which language palys a communicative and symbolic part, and to achieve scholastically and economically. Along this line, many scholars and researchers (Fisherman, 1980, Sue,1773, Banks, 1991) have examed the impact of language and culture on the self-identities of many LMS.

Since the decision whether to develop the native language while learning English in the immigrant

families relies ultimately on parental and individual struggles, parenting practices and background within certain ethnic groups may reveal some differences. Power and Hubbard (1996) equated poor parental skills as one of the reasons for language skill deficiency, in addition to limited intelligence, sensory handicaps, or impovished environmental circumstances. Cheng (1987) researched language performance within the Asian community. She found many Asian parents feel that they are solely responsible for their children's learning both at home and in school. The school's job is to provide a work place where children can be exposed to and practice basic skills. In other words, Chen implies many Asian parents tend not to expect schools to educate their children bilingually, rather they expect family to be responsible for the development of native languages.

Cummins (1991) also found the underlying attributes of the individual to be manifest in the individual's performance in both languages. There are also some beliefs that girls are substantially better second language learners than are boys in the US because the greater bilateral organization of a first language in girls renders them better able to acquire a second language (Albert & Obler, 1978).

The literature review based on Canada's positive bilingual model extends to the struggles of bilingual education in language minority communities in the United States. Cummins and Hakuta's psycholinguistic theories and Gardner and Dornyei's social psychological perspectives of community, in addition to Krashen's second language acquisition theory have supported my theoretical proposition. Second language acquisition among language minority groups, especially among the second-generation Chinese-American students, is associated with the educational support of the home language environment and parental practices along with certain students' attributes. I will not, in this study, discuss the status of two languages currently in the US, nor will I discuss how language minority children survive acculturation into the mainstream culture.

Conceptual framework

Figure 1. Analytic framework

Home environment and students' characteristics for different levels of bilingualism

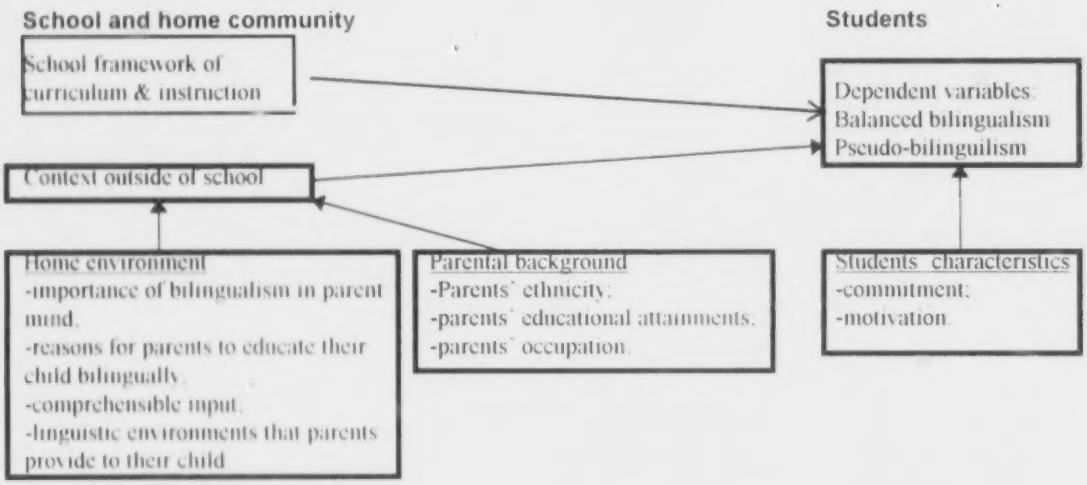

Figure 1 depicts the analytic framework. Grouped on the left are four sets of factors differentiating schools. The school framework of curriculum and instruction at the grade level (used in this study as a controlled variable), the social-linguistic learning environment (language learning community outside school), parents' support of the language learning environment, and parental background. In other words, the home language learning environment (parental attachment, comprehensible input, and other linguistic contexts that parents provide to their child) may facilitate the major influence outside school for the elementary students. Similarly, the parental background (parents' ethnicity, parents' educational attainment, parents' occupation) has the potential to enhance linguistic attainment within the learning context outside school.

Grouped on the right are students' characteristics, including assumed independent variables (individual commitment, motivation), and the dependent variable of primary interest in this study (level of bilingual competence). Potentially influencing the bilingual competence for American-born

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second-generation Chinese students are the language learning context within school and the particular support from the students' home environment

The Research Questions

The literature review and the conceptual framework have suggested the following research questions.

1. What are the factors in the home environment that are associated with linguistically balanced bilingual students?

The following subsidiary questions will be investigated

- Comparing the two groups, what are the differences in the importance of bilingulism in the parents' mind to raise their children bilingually?
- How do parents provide "comprehensible input" in each language to their child? What are the differences in levels of comprehensible input that parents have provided for the balanced bilingual and pseudo-bilingual students?
- Comparing the two groups, what types of linguistic environments that parents have provided to their child are asssociated with students' bilingual development?
- Comparing the two groups, What are the different parental reasons for wanting their child to learn both languages?

2. What are the students' attributes that are associated with linguistically balanced bilinguals?

The following subsidiary questions will be investigated

- Comparing the two groups, what level of commitment do students indicate they have in learning both languages?
- Comparing the two groups, what are students' reasons for wanting to learn both languages?

3. What factors in parental backgrounds are associated with linguistically balanced bilinguals?

The following subsidiary questions will be investigated

- Comparing the two groups, how are parental educational attainments associated with linguistically bilingual students?
- Comparing the two groups, how are parental occupations associated with linguistically bilingual students?

Research Hypotheses

The hypotheses are developed based on the research questions

1. Parents who have raised their children to be balanced bilinguals attach greater importance to bilingualism than parents who have raised their children to be pseudo-bilinguals.

2. Parents who have raised their children to be balanced bilinguals provide more "comprehensible input" than parents who have raised their children to be pseudo-bilinguals.

3. Parents of the balanced bilinguals have different types of motivations for raising their children bilingually than parents of the pseudo-bilinguals.

4. Parents of the balanced bilinguals provide more opportunities in linguistic environments then parents of the pseudo-bilinguals.

5. Balanced bilingual students have higher integrative motivation for wanting to learn both languages than pseudo-bilingual students.

6. Balanced bilingual students have higher commitment in learning two languages than the pseudo-bilingual students.

7. Parents who have raised balanced bilingual children have higher educational attainment than parents who have raised pseudo-bilingual children.

8. Parents who have raised their children to be balanced bilinguals are from a higher socio-economic class than parents who have raised their children to be pseudo-biingual.

Methodology

In considering the researcher's strengths, time limitations, and the possible generalizability of the research findings, the survey method was used to investigate the bilingual practices of immigrant parents and their American-born children who are in the last year of elementary school. Differences were

compared between the balanced and pseudo-bilingual groups to identify certain conditions or relationships that may exist. In addition, a follow-up interview de-constructing the underlying meanings of the survey results was designed to compensate for the constraints of using the survey method alone. Since this project is a pilot study to validate future research, an interview survey was designed to detect any modifications needed in the questionnaire.

Data collection

The sampling in this study was limited to those students who attend the same public school district and language school on Saturday to ensure control over variables in the formal language curriculum and instruction. Besides the questionnaire design, the process of data collection also includes participant selection, administration of the interview survey, data treatment and data analysis.

The instrument (see attached questionnaire)

The interview questionnaire was designed to include a Likert-scale, and open-ended items in both English and Chinese versions so that participants could choose whichever language they felt comfortable. The survey is divided into two parts, one for parents and the other for their child. The questionnaire comprises 27 items. Five items are open-ended questions about parental background in academic attainment, employment and number of years their child has been attending the Chinese language school in addition to overseas language experience in any Chinese speaking country; twenty items are five-point Likert scale items ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" or "most of the time" to "none", a few items are formatted for the number of hours on a weekly basis. Parental consent and students' assent forms are accompany with this questionnaire.

Moreover, the following semi-structured interview protocol was designed to confirm the survey result and provide deeper understanding of the relationship between variables.

1. How are grandparents involved in your parental practices as you encourage your child's language acquisition in Chinese?

2. How do you, as a parent, balance English and Chinese learning situations?

3. Do you intend to go back to a Chinese-speaking country for a permenant stay? If not, why do you want your child to learn Chinese in the U.S.?

4. What kind of other materials have you found very useful in developing both languages at home?

Sample

This research focused on balanced bilinguals and pseudo-bilinguals among American-born ethnic-Chinese 5th grade students, recruited from participants in the largest Chinese language school located on the east side of Seattle, with assistance from the school administrators and teachers. One group consisted of six students (3 boys and 3 girls) who were identified as balanced bilinguals (students are rated as linguistically at grade level in both English and Chinese by students' teachers both in the regular classroom and the Chinese language school) and another group of six students (3 boys and 3 girls) identified as pseudo-bilinguals (students are rated at least two grades below grade level in either of the languages, but not in both, by their teachers). Participants were invited to participate on a strictly vouluntary basis and their names would never be identified.

This particular language school has about four hundred students placed in competency-related grade level classes, using nearly identical curriculum and instruction to that which students are using in Taiwan. The Chinese textbooks are imported directly from the ministry of education in Taiwan. In other words, students in this school are taking Chinese language art classes equivalent to what students in Taiwan have been learning at the same grade level. Students' placement is done by a joint decision between teachers and parents. Teachers may not be certified but all of them are well-qualified and enthusiastic in teaching Chinese with very little monetary reward.

For social and political reasons, Chinese are not all immigrants from one country, thus a common

language in writing and speaking becomes a bridge to connect those immigrants with American-born Chinese-Americans. Parents whom I interviewed were born and raised in the '60s and '70s in Asia. Most of them possess some higher education and have received education in the US for a number of years. Thus, parents of those selected groups are themselves bilingual and bicultural at various levels. The literature written by Kingston (1976, the Woman Warrior) has also reflected a relatively high level of mother tongue retention among the American-born Chinese.

The administration of the survey

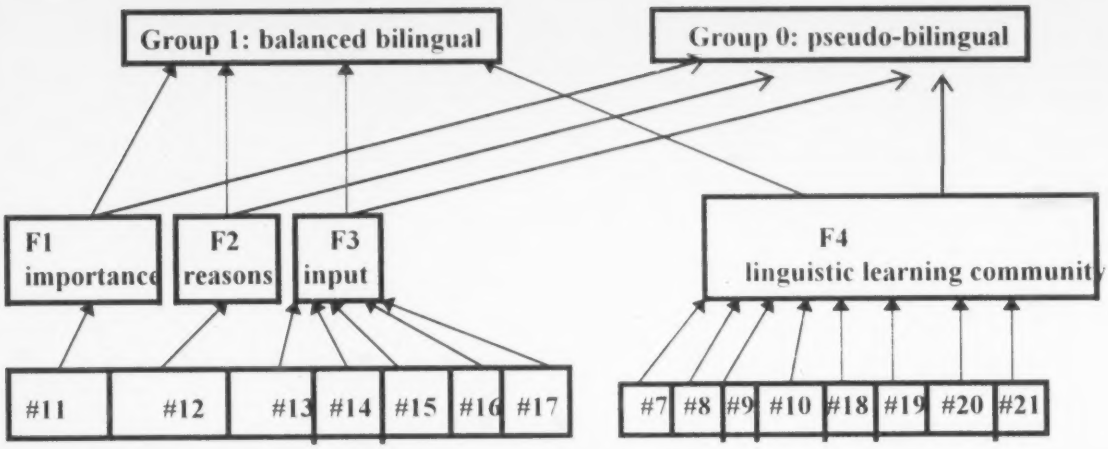
The researcher gained access to parents and students through the administrators at the Chinese Language School and initially started out as a volunteer in classrooms that had potential target subjects. The survey interviews were not conducted until the researcher had built up rapport and trust with students in the classroom and parents in social activities. Participants were asked, to be interviewed twice with a tape recorder presented, each time for about half an hour about a week apart. Parents and students were interviewed separately and individually in a private room with the researcher. Participants were informed about their rights and were promised confidentiality, and they understood participation was voluntary. Participants, however, did have the choice to be interviewed in Chinese or English.

Data

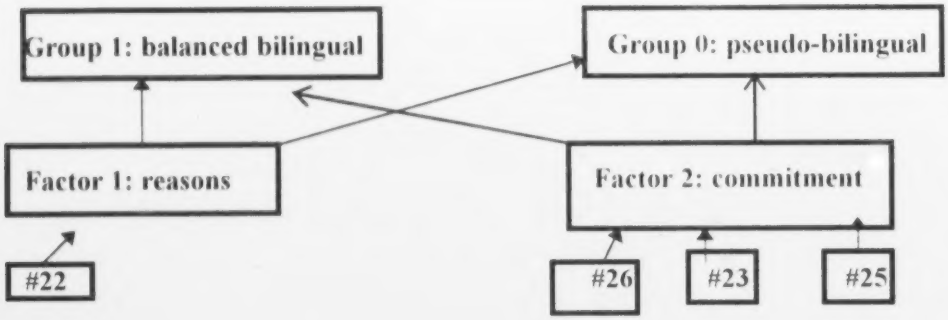
Data generated from the questionnaire were organized into patterns as follows so that computerized statistical analysis could be applied.

Figure.2 Items in questionnaire that relate to the conceptual framework (refer to attached questionnaire)

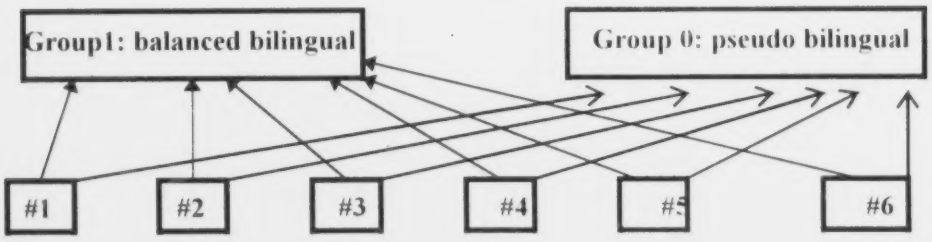
Home environment



Student Characteristics



Parental Backgrounds



In considering data (scale one to five is only ranking not equal interval data) collected from the Likert-scale questionnaire and two small independent samples (balanced bilingual vs pseudo-bilingual)

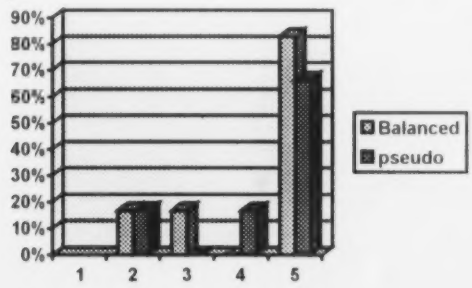
came from populations having the same distribution (American-born Chinese Ameircan who are bilingual in Chinese and English), percentage analyses and a nonparametric Mann-Whitney test are more appropriate to test empirically whether our observed difference between balanaced and pseudo-bilinguals is due simply to sampling variability under a true H , or whether it is due to a real effect of the independent variables. The qualitative data from the semi-structured interviews are coded and relationships are established by coding. The protocol has guided the interviews but not dictated them. The translation of two languages is double-checked for the accuracy of connotations

Results

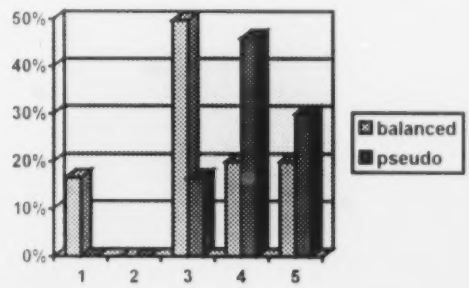
The empirical data analyses reject the null hypothesis and the findings will be discussed in this section. To question #11(see appendix): "as a parent, how important is it that your child be raised bilingually?", all twelve parents checked "it is most important to raise their children bilingually" as an answer. The researcher believes, since all parents are sending their child to the Language school on Saturday, they attach importance to raising their child to be bilingual regardless of whether their children will be balanced or pseudo-bilingual. As a result hypothesis one "parents who have raised their children to be balanced bilinguals attach greater importance to bilingualism than parents who have raised their children to be pseudo-bilinguals." is rejected.

Figure 3: language input from family that is coordinated with the questions in the questionnaire.

Bar Chart

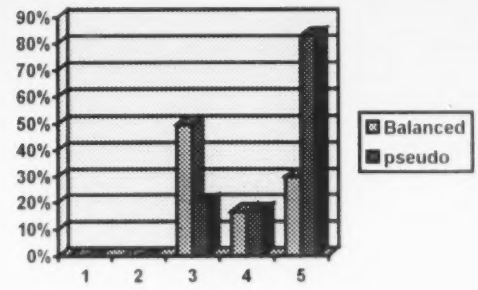


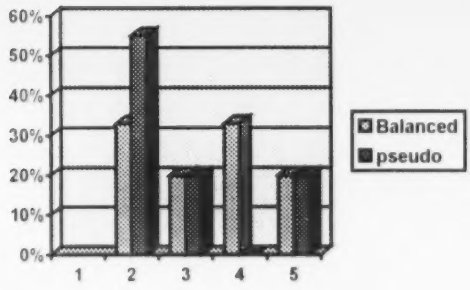
Q13
How often do parents instruct and/or monitor their child's Chinese homework at home?



Q14
How often do parents instruct and/or monitor their child's English homework at home?

Q15

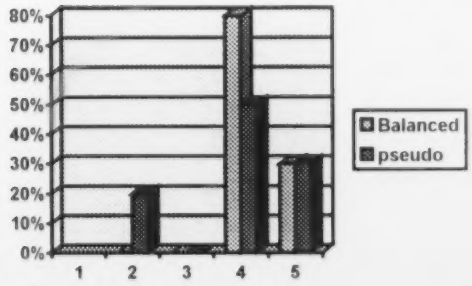




Q16

How often do you use grade level Chinese texts with your child at home?

How often do you provide supplemental Reading materials in Chinese?



Q17

How often do you provide supplemental reading materials in English?

Eighty-three percent of parents of balanced bilinguals assist their children "most of the time" in Chinese homework, while 66.4% of parents of pseudo-bilingual children do so. (Q13)

Fifty percent of parents have assisted their balanced bilingual children in English homework "sometimes" or "very little time" (Q14). Contrarily, 33.2% parents have helped out their pseudo-bilingual children "most of the time" in English homework while only 16.6% parents have helped their balanced bilingual children. Parents of pseudo-bilingual children tend to use Chinese texts more often and be more cautious in assisting their children in English homework more often than paprents of balanced bilingual children do (Q15).

The data show that parents of balanced bilinguals use slightly more supplemental reading materials in both languages than parents of pseudo-bilinguals do (Q16,17). The conclusion of data supports hypothesis two: parents of balanced bilingual children provide more "comprehensible input" than parents of pseudo-bilingual children do.

Figure 4: Parental reasons for wanting their children to be educated in two languages. Mean of each category is based on the Likert scale one to five.

Reasons	Parents who have raised balanced bilingual children (mean)	Parents who have raised pseudo-bilingual children (mean)
Family communication	4.6	3.0
Ethnic identity	4.8	3.3
Cultural appreciation	4.5	3.6
Professional options	4.0	3.6
Linguistic advantages	4.5	4.3

Hypothesis three: "parents who have raised their children to be balanced bilinguals have different reasons for doing so than parents who have raised their children to be pseudo-bilingual," is accepted. Parents who have raised balanced bilingual individuals tend to pick "family communication" and "Ethnic identity" as major reasons, while parents who have raised pseudo-bilingual individuals tend to have "language advantages, professional options and cultural appreciation" as reasons. In all cases, parents of balanced bilinguals score higher. Two comments I obtained from parents of the balanced bilingual group are " I like to think it is a gift for my child from me for their life time usage," and "It is a marketable skill My children will be able to use when there is a need."

Table 4.1
Mann-Whitney ranks used to test the difference between two groups in non-interval numbers.

Reasons	Groups	N	Mean rank	Sum of ranks
Family communication	Pseudo-bilingual	6	4.42	26.50
	Balanced bilingual	6	8.58	51.50
Ethnic identity	Pseudo-bilingual	6	4.25	25.50
	Balanced bilingual	6	8.75	52.50

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Cultural appreciation	Pseudo-bilingual	6	4.50	27.00
	Balanced bilingual	6	8.50	51.00
Professional options	Pseudo-bilingual	6	5.58	33.50
	Balanced bilingual	6	7.42	44.50
Linguistic advantages	Pseudo-bilingual	6	5.33	32.00
	Balanced bilingual	6	7.67	46.00

Mann-Whitney U-test and Wilcoxon Z-test

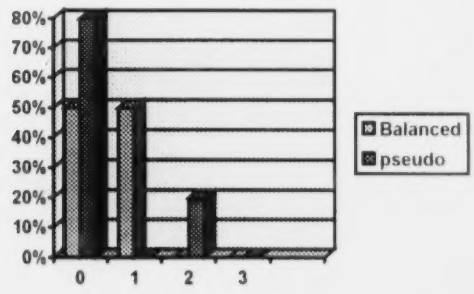
Statistical test	Reasons				
	Family-communication	Ethnic identity	Cultural appreciation	Professional options	Linguistic advantages
Mann-Whitney U	5.500*	4.500*	6.000*	12.500	11.000
Wilcoxon Z	-2.154*	-2.331*	-2.166*	-.933	-1.278

*P < .05 (SPSS 7.0)

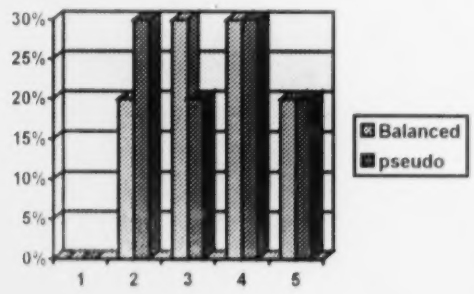
The Wilcoxon matched-pairs Z test produced exactly the same results as the Mann-Whitney U-test.

The statistical results have suggested parents who raised balanced bilingual students have higher ranks in reasons for wanting their child to be educated bilingually, specifically in terms of family communication, ethnic identity, and cultural appreciation, than those parents who raised pseudo-bilingual students. The difference is significant statistically based on the Mann-Whitney U-test

Figure 5: parents provided linguistic learning environment



Q7



Q21

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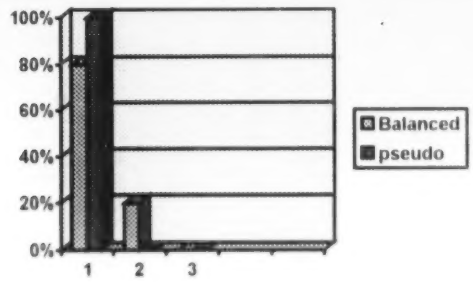
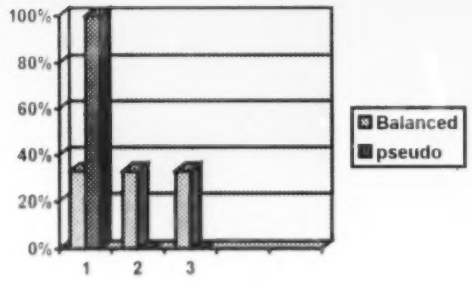
How much time does your child spend in a Chinese church or any Chinese religious Temple?



Q8

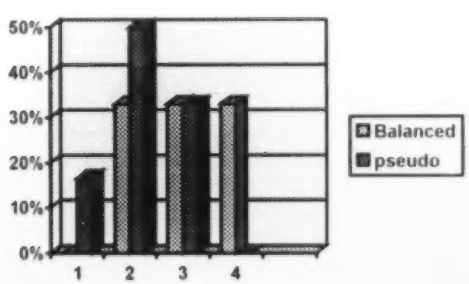
On a weekly basis, how often do you take your child to ethnic cultural events?

How often does your child talk to his/her sibling(s) in English?



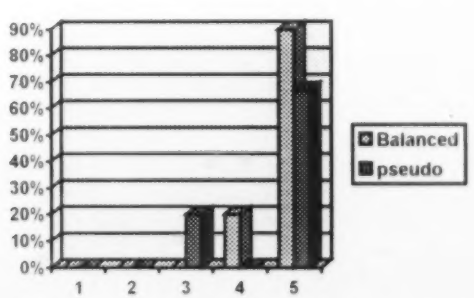
Q9

How much time do you spend telling your child about family stories or Chinese folk stories?



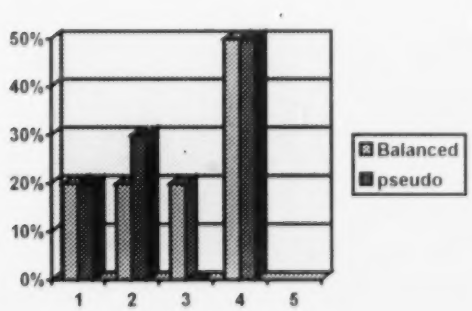
Q10

How often does your child have the opportunity to write Chinese at home?



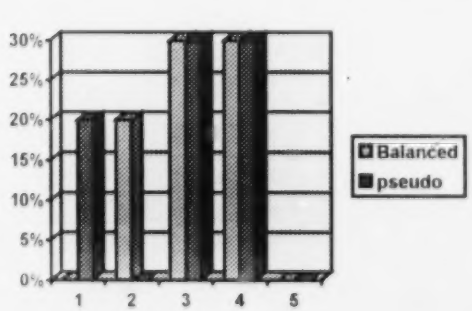
Q18

On a daily basis, how often do you communicate with your child in Chinese?



Q19

On a daily basis, how often do you communicate



Q20

How often does your child talk to his/her

with your child in English? **sibling(s) in Chinese?**

Among balanced bilingual students, half of them attend religious activities in the Chinese community about 1-3 hours/weekly, and half of them do not go to any of this type of activity; among Pseudo-bilingual students only one out of six attends 4-6 hours/weekly (Q7, see figure 5). The balanced group shows more participation in the activities that involve Chinese language input. In terms of participation in the ethnic cultural events, there is no difference in percentage between the two groups (Q8).

Information from the bar-chart indicates parents of balanced bilingual students indeed spend more time telling family stories and Chinese folk stories to their children than parents of pseudo-bilingual students do (Q9). There are 33.2% of parents of balanced bilingual students telling stories to their children " 4 hours weekly". Interestingly, parents of balanced bilinguals claimed they provide opportunities for their children to write Chinese between "2-3 hrs/weekly" or "less often," while one out of six parents of pseudo-bilinguals provided Chinese writing opportunities everyday (Q10).

There are 83% of parents of balanced bilingual students communicating with their children in Chinese most of time on a daily basis, while only 66.4% of parents of peudo-bilingual students communicate with their children "most of the time" on a daily basis (Q18). Three out of six parents of both groups of bilingual students communicate with their children in English "sometimes" on a daily basis (q19). There is no difference between the two groups of bilingual students who talk to their siblings both in Chinese and English (Q20,21). The conclusion from the above data supports hypothesis four: parents of balanced bilingual children do provide more and different linguistic learning environments for their children than parents of pseudo-bilinguals do.

Figure 5: Students' reasons for being educated in two languges

Reasons	Balanced bilingual students	Pseudo-bilingual students
Family communication	4.2	4.0
Ethnic identity	3.9	3.0
Cultural appreciation	3.9	3.0

Professional options	4.2	3.0
Linguistic advantages	4.5	4.0

Balanced bilingual students have high mean scores in such reasons as "linguistic advantages, professional options, and family communication", while pseudo-bilingual students have similar reasons as "linguistic advantages and family communication" to be educated bilingually. An obvious difference between these two groups is the answer from two balanced bilingual students "for the FUN of it" as an extra reason for being educated bilingually. None of pseudo-bilingual cases claims any other reasons beyond the listed ones.

Table 5.2
Mann-Whitney Rank Test

Reasons	Groups	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Family communication	Balanced bilingual	6	6.33	38.00
	Pseudo-bilingual	6	6.67	40.00
Ethnic identity	Balanced bilingual	6	6.17	37.00
	Pseudo-bilingual	6	6.83	41.00
Cultural appreciation	Balanced bilingual	6	5.00	30.00
	Pseudo-bilingual	6	8.00	48.00
Professional options	Balanced bilingual	6	4.83	29.00
	Pseudo-bilingual	6	8.17	49.00
Linguistic advantages	Balanced bilingual	6	5.50	33.00
	Pseudo-bilingual	6	7.50	45.00

Mann-Whitney U-test

	Family communication	Ethnic identity	Cultural appreciation	Professional options	Linguistic advantages
Mann-Whitney U	17.000	16.000	9.000	8.000	12.000
Wilcoxon Z	38.000	37.000	30.000	29.000	33.000

P < . 05 (data caculated by SPSS 7.0)

There is no evidence of difference between the two groups of bilingual students in their reasons to be

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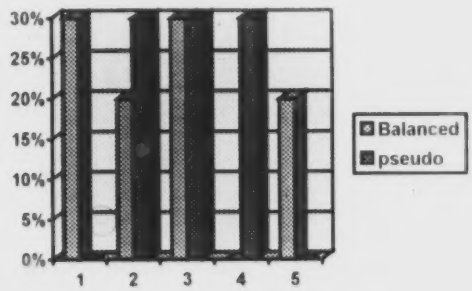
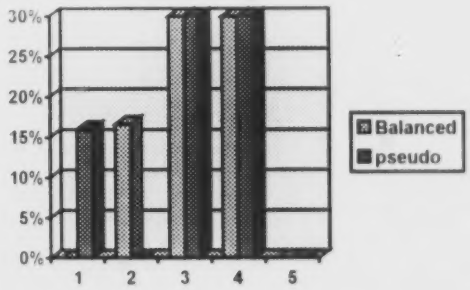
bilingual. The data reject hypothesis five that balanced bilingual students have higher intergrative motivation than pseudo-bilingual students based on the Mann-Whitney rank test.

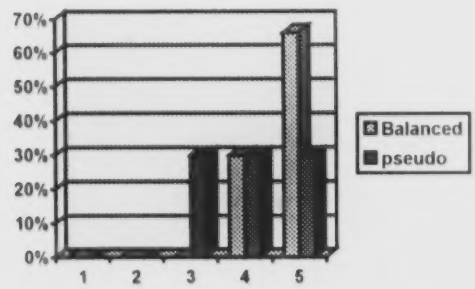
Figure 6 : Students' commitment



Q25
I sometimes feel it is not worth the effort to try to learn both languages.



Q23
My success in learning both languages is mostly due to my parents' efforts rather than my own effort and ability.



Q26
I believe everyone can be bilingual if one has the opportunities and puts in suffcient effort.

Although the balanced bilinguals have a slightly higher percentage in students' commitment, balanced and pseudo-bilingual students all tend to believe effort is most essential in acquiring two languages (Q23, 25, 26, figure 6 bar chart). The balanced bilingual students tend to have stronger agreement in that everyone can be bilingual if they have the opportunity and put in sufficient effort (Q26). In terms of parental educational attainment, three out of six fathers of balanced bilingual students have Ph.D's, two out of six have M.S. degree, one of six has a B.A. degree. Four out of six mothers of balanced bilingual children have M.S., two out of six have B.S. On the other hand, parents of the pseudo-

bilingual group have less educational attainment. One out of six fathers who have pseudo-bilingual children has a Ph D., four out of six fathers have MS. Degree, and one out of six is high school graduate. Four out of six mothers of pseudo-bilingual children have BA. degrees, one out of six has a MS. degree, and one out of six is a high school graduate.

The researcher uses parent occupations as an indicator of parents' S E S. instead of asking about household income. Within the balanced bilingual group, all fathers have professional employment (i.e.,Engineers , architecture...). Two out of six mothers have part-time professional jobs, three out of six mothers are full-time homemakers, only one mother is a full-time school teacher with grandparents at home. Within the pseudo-bilingual group, two out of six mothers hold part-time jobs, only one is a full-time mom, three out of six mothers work full-time outside the home. Eleven out of twelve students have attended the language school regularly for more than four years, and only one case received home instructions from grandparents. The difference between these two groups is *the frequency of opportunities* that parents provided balanced bilingual children to visit Chinese speaking countries with parents of pseudo-bilingual group provide fewer opportunities.

The follow-up interviews provided the researcher some in-depth and rich information about the meanings behind the answers on the survey. Grandparents fill up the gap between parents and children in both groups. Most parents feel grandparents provide opportunities for the child to acquire skills in speaking and listening, but not in reading and writing. There was only one case in which grandparents have taken on the responsibility of teaching Chinese formally to their grandson on a daily basis. As one mother exlaimed, " children watch Chinese TV with grandparents, and their Chinese vocabularies and utterances have been improved as a result." One mother told me the way to integrate two languages succesfully is to "read to your child at a very young age in English and explain the content to them in Chinese..." Obviously, parents who have raised balanced bilingual students are becoming experienced

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teachers at the same time. Social adjustment does not appear to be a problem among Chinese-American elementary children; as many students reported, their friends are mostly monolingual English speakers However, they all credit the Chinese language input from their parents and adults around them

Almost all parents assured me of their intention to stay in the US permanently and visit their hometown for vacation or family reunions only. Parents that I interviewed, whether the mother or father, all express the importance of their child having ethnic identity and pride in their ethnic background. One father repeatedly told me "other ethnic students are learning Chinese,why can't our children take advantage of their parents heritage?" One mother said, "Chinese offspring who can only speak English are people with a CHINESE FACE, they are not Chinese-American " I was very glad that one mother suggested that Chinese movies or videos are a good language input for their American-born children

Findings

1. **Parents of balanced bilingual students, including fathers as well as mothers, tend to have higher education and hold professional jobs more often than parents of pseudo-bilingual children.**
2. **Mothers of balanced bilingual students tend to be full-time or part-time homemakers, most of the parents of pseudo bilingual students work full-time.**
3. **Balanced bilingual students,but not pseudo-bilinguals, tend to have opportunities to immerse themselves in Chinese-speaking countries for a period of time in addition to formal instruction in both languages**
4. **All parents in this study feel it is <u>important</u> to educate their children bilingually.**
5. **Parents of balanced bilingual children tend to have different reasons for wanting their children to be educated bilingually than parents of pseudo-bilingual children. Parents of balanced bilingual students emphasized strongly ethnic identity and family communication, a sense of pride and the gift of being bilingual.**

6. **Students, on the other hand, do not have as strong differences as their parents do in reasons for wanting to be educated bilingually, nor do balanced bilingual students reveal any higher integrative motivation in being bilingual than pseudo-bilingual students. Two of the six balanced bilingual students mention that being bilingual is fun.**
7. **Parents of the balanced bilingual group tend to provide more opportunities for their children in language input and in a linguistic learning environment than parents of the pseudo-bilingual group. However, this is worthy of further study since data in this study suggest the phenomenon that parents of the pseudo-bilingual group tend to use Chinese textbooks more often and tutor their children in English homework more often than parents of balanced bilinguals.**

The findings of this study can be viewed as a heuristic for the general argument that I am interested in formulating.

Discussion

Many studies have confirmed the need for language minority students in the US to build a strong competence in the native language before engaging in English acquisition, if true additive bilingualism is to be achieved. Wong Fillmore (1991) noted the risk of loss primary languages when language minority students start to acquire English in the US at the younger age (her research used kindergarden students). Hakuta & D'Andrea (1992) with their research on Hispanic language minority students, argued that early exposure to English not only may mean a shift from Spanish to English, it may also decrease the chances of being diagnosed as LEP students and being placed in the bilingual program. The matter then concludes as a problem of **Timing**, the approprate time to introduce the native language and the second lanaguage.

Swain (1972), who has studied the acqusition of simultaneous bilingualism in childhood, suggested the simultaneous acqusition/learning of two languages did not differ in development order from the acqusition/learning of one language. Children appear to learn two languages as if they were learning

one. Pinker (1994), an innatist, commented " language is not a cultural artifact that we learn the way we learn to tell time or how the government works. It is a distinct piece of our biological make-up." In other words, the innate theory suggests that children surrounded by words almost always become fluent at a very young age regardless of their intelligence, and people deprived of language as children rarely master it as adults no matter how smart they are or how intensively they are trained.

My study has shown that the acquisition of two languages simultaneously can result in a balanced bilingual competence. It is the parental practices and individual students' characteristics that make the difference in bilingualism in Chinese immigrant families. Our data have shown a strong sense of identity behind the drive to be bilingual and persistence in parental practices to raise their children to be bilingual. Two out of six of the successful bilingual students that I interviewed actually enjoy the language activities as part of their life.

Bilingualism is a very complex phenomenon in the U.S. for language minority groups during the process of acculturation into American society, especially when it involves dealing with the dominant language and cultural/ social adjustment. My research intends to provide a better understanding of possibilities in raising bilingual children successfully in the U.S. with certain parental practices and persistence. Educators can also encourage language minority families to take advantage of their heritage without falling behind in English (i.e. possibly reducing number of LEP students at the elemntary level). It also suggested that home language learning can support schooling in developing truly bilingual students both in immigrant families and foreign language learners in English speaking families. The elements of bilingual practices include starting children at a very young age; valuing both languages and enforcing both at home and in the community; having parental involvement and support; and immersing students at some point in the complete single language environment (i.e., visiting countries that speak the particular language which students are learning).

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